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ABSTRACT

This paper describes several key issues which are shaping the profession of Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE). The issues include tertiary education, teacher education and schooling, and deprofessionalization. Drawing from data at an Australian case site, the paper argues that these key issues shape the profession's knowledge, values, attitudes, and practices. In doing so, PETE courses may constrain the professional development of physical education and physical education teachers. Interviews with 18 faculty and 292 college students found that PETE students often arrive at their institutions of higher education with particular technocratic values venerating science, masculine perspectives, or entrepreneurialism, and may find that these values are reinforced throughout their courses despite these values being incompatible with those that will benefit them and their students as teachers in schools. In conclusion, the argument is made that the proletarianization of PETE faculty and students needs to be arrested by particular measures which will be of benefit to the intellectual work of physical educators. It is suggested that PETE may need to align itself with the education departments and faculties in tertiary institutions rather than with what are essentially departments of sport sciences, despite claims of their balanced, multidisciplinary structures. (Contains approximately 70 references.) (JDD)

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One Step Forwards, Two Backwards: Deprofessionalization within Physical Education

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> Unless teachers of physical education can open their minds and hearts to the boundless possibilities involved in this wider contribution they can make to education, they are forever doomed to skulk behind the palisade of their own specialism, fighting amongst themselves about which of them can offer the most powerful form of defence.
>
> Myrle-James, 1970

Many professional groups are being criticized for their failure to meet the needs of the community and so too are the graduates from Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) programmes. The crisis in PETE and with PETE is associated with its failure to keep abreast of, and contribute to, the needs of the educational sites to which it should be responsible. As I have argued previously, there is a growing mismatch between the contemporary needs and priorities of Australian schools, teachers and students, and the experiences offered to prospective teachers in PETE courses (Macdonald, 1991). If PETE cannot meet its primary responsibility, that is, the education of "professional" teachers who are informed of, and able to reflect upon, the demands of schooling, then it is negligent.

Recently published journal debates would suggest that the arguments surrounding the goals, structures and outcomes of PETE programmes have also been brewing for many years in North America (see 1990 Quest, 42 & 43). Bain (1991b) advised of the need for a complete redefinition of the field of physical education. While I appreciate the complexity of the problem in working from our current models of PETE to achieve meaningful change, the constraining discourses of knowledge construction and control render Bain's solution a chimera.

This paper begins with a description of several key discourses which are shaping tertiary education, teacher education and schooling and, in turn, the professional processes underpinning physical education teacher socialization. Shaw (1985), although using a somewhat unproblematic conception of professionalism, explained that:

> Any model of teacher training... needs to be put into the context of the long-term ebb and flow of the government's efforts to retain or regain control over various facets of the educational system and, on the other side, of the struggle of teachers, as individuals, to develop their professionalism with a degree of autonomy, and as an occupational group, to defend and improve their professional status.... Whatever members do about their own professionalism, the state can, and historically has, manipulated the situation to keep in check their aspirations towards professional status. (pp.56-57)

Drawing from data at an Australian case site, it will be argued that discourses within PETE reflect and further shape several of the dominant discourses through the production and reproduction of knowledge, values, attitudes, and practices together with others which are repudiated by these current agendas (for example, sexism). In doing so PETE courses may constrain the professional development of physical education and physical education teachers. To conclude, the argument is made that the proletarianization of PETE faculty and students needs to be arrested by particular measures which will in turn be of benefit to the intellectual work of physical educators.

Dominant Discourses

Tertiary Education

The hegemonic discourse of technocratic rationality currently frames tertiary education now more so than ever before in Australia's history. Efficiency, accountability, opportunism, and knowledge derived from science and technology, are venerated while critical thought, process orientations, and knowledge derived from the arts and social sciences have been shunned outside educational circles and by some within. The implementation of far-reaching reports by Finn (1991) and Carmichael (1992) into the restructuring of and accountability for vocational education are clearly guided by rationalist discourses. In its rationale for establishing National Competency Standards, the National Training Board (1991, p.4), charged with implementing vocational training, explained that, "Higher productivity and quality in goods and services is dependent in large measure on a nation's ability to produce... well trained workers".

An interview with the federal minister responsible for restructuring Australia's higher education system (Bartos, 1992, p.18) pointed out two ways of more closely aligning the economy and higher education. The first was to take the economy as a given and try to shape higher education to it. The second was to use higher education as a catalyst for economic change. The minister maintained that, "both perspectives have informed policy but the drift has been from the former to the latter in conjunction with the ethos of corporate managerialism".

Corporate federalism in education can be understood as a national metapolicy which is an amalgam of the discourses of corporate managerialism, neo-corporatism, economic rationalism, and human capital theory. The driving force of these discourses is the federal government's rhetoric for the development of a clever country (Bartlett, Knight & Lingard, 1990). Corporate managerialism involves the appropriation of private sector thinking and practice to the public sector, although the mandate for the public sector may be different to that of the private. This ties in with human capital theory which presents people as objects to whom value, whether for the society or the individual, is added through organized education. Along with economic rationalism that has arisen as a response to Australia's depressed economic condition, they constitute what Foucault (1980) had described as a technology of power.

DeLacey and Moens (1990) highlighted how a trinity of power-brokers (the state, corporate and union leaders) has rendered universities servile to the needs of business, high technology and governmental interests. The current restructuring of tertiary education, and many of the policy decisions issued by the trinity that it has been forced to facilitate, have been described by Bartlett et al. (1990) as indicative of "coercive" rather than "corporate federalism". Tisher (in Tisher & Wideen, 1990) has summarized the resultant turmoil in Australian tertiary education as:

> a state of flux as universities and colleges review working conditions for staff, become more entrepreneurial, accept more full fee paying students, generate a greater proportion of their own income, establish stronger links with industry and business, amalgamate to form larger multi-campus institutions, review course offerings, and try to be more accountable to the community at large. (p.67)

It should be recognized that principles such as the efficient allocation of resources or the idea of education contributing to our economic well-being cannot necessarily be seen as wrong unless these principles of economic rationalism are seen to dominate educational policy and practice (Walker, 1990). However, where institutions must serve both the economy and educational goals tensions arise. Lawson (1988a, p.18) has described a structural ambiguity in institutions arising "from the cross-cutting pressure and expectations experienced by a university when it finds itself located at the intersection of two or more sets of social structural demands."

The construction of professional knowledge also becomes implicated inthese tensions (Boreham, 1983). He claimed that the rights of professionals, "and the way they are effected are subject to the determination of the state and are generally 'managed' in conjunction with various elements of the administrative apparatus of the state" (p.694). In physical education, Lawson (1985) captured this inter-relationship between knowledge, educational policy and structures, politics, and professionalism in the following statement.

> Just as conceptions of knowledge are political and cultural, so is the transfer of knowledge a political and cultural activity. Insights such as these should enhance collective understandings of the relationship between the structure of knowledge, the professions and social theory. (p.22)

Teacher Education and Schooling

Teacher education and schooling are also undergoing transitions as a function of the neo-corporatist federal discourses reflected in policy formation. It may be argued that the structures and networks that are being put in place give cause for some optimism for positive changes in teaching and schooling, although by no means can a causal transfer of policy into practice be assumed. Hursh (1992) argued that organizational forms can nurture, protect, control and co-ordinate emergent forms of practice.

> Therefore, if we are to develop reflective teachers, we need to describe the ways in which teachers' beliefs and practices are sustained and constrained by the dominant discourses, practices, and organizational forms. (p.2)

However, elements of these policies themselves contain contradictions which may contribute to, rather than alleviate, problems facing teacher education and teachers' work.

The reformed public sector, under the tenets of corporate managerialism, claims to be more equitable and more democratic, yet more efficient and effective (Apelt & Lingard, 1991). Manifestly, there are competing principles in the ensuing policies, reports and recommendations. These have been described with respect to education using the polarities of "equity" and efficiency". Efficiency has been translated as supporting: competitive, market-driven economics; minimum state intervention; emphasis on individualist concerns and private gain; accountablility; national policy formulation with room for self-management; and instrumental educational goals. In contrast, equity is characterized by: economic theory which supports a welfare state; state intervention to protect citizens' rights; emphasis on collective welfare; accountablility to support social democratic ends; broad educational goals and policies in the interests of social justice (Apelt & Lingard, 1991).

Thus, education as a state structure is required to do a balancing act - pursuing more economically efficient policies and also meeting the increased demands for fulfilling the tenets of equity and meeting socially just ends. Based upon the perspectives contained in the work of commentators such as Apelt and Lingard (1991), Becher (1989) and DeLacey and Moens (1990), it could be argued that the newly rationalized administrative elite has learnt the language and gestures of a democratic way of operating which thinly disguises the thrust for managerialism. Alternatively, a genuine commitment to reform may ensue.

One school of thought has construed the burgeoning bureaucracy within education as a threat to teacher professionalism (Bartlett et al., 1990; Hartley,1985; Walker, 1990). Walker (1990) described the current agendas from the position of teachers who:

> appear to be forced to adapt to policies, frameworks and procedures conceived outside the profession. This, in a large part, may be because although the economic rationalist and corporatist perspectives have been able to articulate an apparently coherent and contextualised position on education, and now teacher education - at least at the level of general policy - by incorporating many educational ideas into their own conceptual frameworks, the converse has not been the case. Professional educators, and classroom teachers especially, have not done so well in articulating the economic policy ideas in their language. The result is that a powerful and, to date, rhetorically successful policy framework has emerged, couched largely in economic rationalist terms, but effectively subsuming many basic professional ideas. (p.145)

Similarly, Bartlett et al. (1990, p.17) analysis exposed a fundamental contradiction "between notions of professional autonomy and a diversity of forms in teacher education on the one hand and pressures for centralized control and uniformity and economy of provision on the other". However, a closer consideration of specific policies paints a different picture of the opportunities awaiting the teaching profession.

The chief policy-making body in Australian education is the Australian Education Council (AEC) which consists of the State, Territory and Commonwealth Ministers of Education. This council is a critical structure for the commonwealth government's hegemony over the functions of education and schooling. In 1989 the ministers met to formulate the Common and Agreed National Goals of Schooling in Australia, referred to as the "Hobart Declaration on Schooling". This pivotal document listed the priorities for schooling as: a broad and balanced knowledge base for maximising students' potentials; integrated learning experiences; flexible classroom organization and school practices; development of rational, critical and reflective capacities in students; development of students who are multi-skilled, creative and adaptable and who have an understanding of communication, problem-solving and culture, with a sense of social justice and equity (AEC, 1989).

The tenets of this declaration have been further supported by McGaw, Banks and Piper's (1991) policy document Effective Schools. This document reiterates the goals of the declaration but contexualizes and operationalizes them within the processes of schooling. In describing effective schools, McGaw at al. also move into recommendations for the professional

development of teachers. It encourages teachers to become more "professional" through collaborative work in schools, a medium for "constructive review and change", with teachers being involved more extensively in active decision-making (1991, p.10).

In concert with proposed changes to schooling, a document entitled Teacher Education in Australia: Report to the Australian Education Council (known as the Ebbeck Report, 1990) has been claimed by Ebbeck to support the "radical reformulation of the structure and content of teacher education" (p.22). More so than the earlier reports on directions for teacher education (Auchmuty, 1980; Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987), teachers are conceptualized as professionals who are well-educated, critical individuals, who have had contact with a world of scholarship generally, and specifically in relation to the academic study of education, and are regarded as such by the community. Ebbeck (1990) recommended that preservice programmes must place their major emphasis on strengthening the general education of the student teacher (knowledge of language and literature, mathematics, science, sociology, world economy, health issues and the Pacific region); that continuing professional development concentrate on improving the quality of teaching performance; that the relationship between teaching skills and theory be maintained; and the need for teacher flexibility to accommodate change be highlighted within teacher education. There was a strong sense that all teachers needed to be comfortable in a pluralist society (with a sensitivity to gender, class and race) and work with the community. Although Ebbeck supports the tripartite arrangement between the schools, tertiary institutions and the federal government (interestingly the state level of government is not mentioned), there was a strong sense in the accompanying minutes that daily practice in schools is supported for student teachers in that it provides opportunities for reflective practice, but care is taken not to advocate that new teachers are socialized into any constraining practices of the schools.

In 1991, the National Project on the Quality of Teaching and Learning was also initiated through the AEC. It, too, sought to clarify the goals of schooling and teaching in Australia, and to fund and manage the process of change in order to meet these goals. Listed goals for schools and teachers were to: respond effectively to change; enrich life; cope with a competitive world; contribute to the world economy; sustain cultural and economic development; communicate effectively; problem-solve and collaborate. Within this policy, it is recommended for the teaching "profession" to examine their current work organization; their professional organizations and systems of registration; and their teacher education.

As previously mentioned, to the extent that the centralized reports and policies are prescriptive, they can serve to limit the professional development of tertiary educators who lose some ideological and technical power over their workplace initiatives. Yet, the Ebbeck Report provides a good example of texts which suggest that teaching must become fully "professional" in terms of the emerging requirements of the 21st century. The intention is for the development of better teacher education supported by a national "professional" body operating in tandem with the restructured education systems. That there will be tensions between these requirements for a new-look teaching workforce and traditional conceptions of professional practice is obvious. However, these far-reaching reports also tell a great deal about the forthcoming demands on teacher education and more specifically, have implications for the context, content and structure of PETE courses.

Future scenarios for PETE and school physical education are unfolding. In the state's position on physical education some related, instrumental foci are emerging. One is the channelling of resources to the sports sciences to ultimately improve the elite performances of Australian athletes. Another is the inculcation of schools with packaged physical activity programmes oriented towards physical fitness and games-playing with the objectives of health and social cohesion. These types of school programmes hope to satisfy the generation of a wide base for the development of successful athletic performances and reduced health costs (McKay, Gore & Kirk, 1990).

Yet, current practices in school physical education - oriented to masculine, sports-based or academicized programmes - are only maintaining the participation of particular groups of students. As physical education began searching for some "theory" and "practice" to academicize their work (Marshall & Peters, 1990) to arrest its status deficit (and attract more academically able students), the adoption of scientific knowledge and practice was seen as a solution, and on the surface, it is a solution to some problems facing physical education. This movement believes the future for physical education in schools relies on the evolution of a sports science model. The implications of these trends on the framing and naming of "professional" issues (Lawson, 1988b), including curriculum processes and frameworks, preferred pedagogies, and "professional" affiliations and associations, are extensive. This is particularly so in the light of tangential mainstream educational discourses.

Deprofessionalization

Shaw (1987) constructed a model of professionalization in which skills, knowledge, and social and personal qualities become prerequisites for responsible and critical autonomy which, in turn, safe-guard the professionals' discretion and freedom from close control. In an historical context there are the "classic professions" (for example, law and medicine) which developed "professional" discourses based on a system of tertiary education and the claiming of social and cultural authority in addition to gatekeeping the mandatory point of entry into professional practice (Popkewitz, 1987).

Today "professionalism" can be considered for many occupations, not as an actual description of work conditions, but as a set of beliefs or an ideology. As an ideological mechanism, "professionalism" arguably obscures the actual lack of power, the subordination, and the commonalities of "professionals" with other workers. For teachers, acquiescence enables them to continue practising in the belief that they are working autonomously yet simultaneously subverts their attention from important moral and social questions, and leads them into redefining their own goals so that they do not conflict with the educational bureaucracy and wider discourses previously mentioned.

This "false" sense of "professional" practice may be masking what several commentators on labour theory have described as proletarianization (Berlak & Berlak, 1981; Braverman, 1974; Densmore, 1987; Derber, 1983; Harris, 1982; Shaw, 1985, 1987). "Proletarianization" has been defined by Densmore (1987) as disempowering work practices represented by:

> an increased division of labour; the separation of conception from the execution of tasks, including the tendency to routinize high level tasks; increased controls over each stage of the labour

> process; increased volume of work; and the downgrading of skill levels. (p.135)

As the process of proletarianization has a gender dimension (Apple, 1985; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Densmore, 1987; Marshall & Peters, 1990), it is crucial that an analysis of the proletarianization process at any site would be sensitive to gendered discourses.

Berlak and Berlak (1981) conceptualized the contradictions in knowledge for teachers as they were being proletarianized. Their framework was: "(a) knowledge as given - knowledge as problematical; (b) public knowledge - personal knowledge; (c) knowledge as molecular - knowledge as holistic" (in Ginsburg, 1988, p.102). While providing some useful reference points for the study of proletarianization, the falsity of their dichotomous conceptual polarities needs to be recognized. Nevertheless, fragmented public knowledge, given to the faculty or students, may be construed as proletarianizing.

These conceptual trends may also be explored using a framework based upon Derber's (1983, p.169) distinctions between technical and ideological proletarianization. "Technical" referred to the loss of control over the processes of the work itself and "ideological" referred to the "loss of control over the goals and social purposes to which one's work is put". Both dimensions are indicative of the power/knowledge nexus and, in the case of PETE, they are reflective of the power that teachers and tertiary educators as workers have over their labour processes. When operationalizing the above mentioned frameworks the extent of the inter-relationship between the technical and ideological dimensions is clear. For example, in losing a voice in the larger issue of ideological self-determination, the discourses of practice are consequently dominated by technical and utilitarian concerns. Yet, as Goodson (1984, in Sparkes et al., 1990, p.11) theorized, "utilitarian knowledge... becomes that which is related to those non-professional vocations".

The following foci on the proletarianization trends for faculty and students are not intended to deny the existence of discourses which were empowering for them. Nevertheless, dominant discourses drawn from a case site of PETE (technicization, corporatization, fragmentation, specialization, and sexism) can serve to proletarianize the future work practices of not only the students of PETE, but of the faculty themselves, the latter a phenomena which has gone relatively unrecognized in the literature. The future of PETE, as judged by this case site, on its current course and within its current structures, will limit the possibilities of physical educators to produce in our schools equitable, intrinsically satisfying and creative physical education programmes.

The Study

Many of the claims made in this paper are based upon a semester spent observing, teaching and participating in student life in a Department of Physical Education and Recreation an Australian tertiary institution (to be referred to as Oxley Institute) which offered a Diploma in Education (Dip. Ed.) after the completion of a Degree in Physical Education. The movement-based, holisitc and philosophical underpinnings of the department's mission, framed in the early 1970s, received unequivocal verbal support from faculty and students. The Dean of the Faculty (and founding Head of Department) said that, "PE must be seen as more than facts and figures and performance" in

order for it to make its greatest contribution to the physical education profession. Yet later in the same interview it was revealed that:

> The reason we chose a social science emphasis in the first place was a marketing exercise... to market something different. I was being pragmatic... although I had a commitment to the type of programme I was setting up.

Similar rational principles were at work again several years later (1989) in that the Head of Department pointed out:

> The move to Applied Science was basically an economic one. PE was being characterized around the state as an applied science and the funding for that was greater.

The department appeared to be thriving with its new potential for growth, and an enthusiastic and committed staff.

Students enroled in the Degree (n=280) and the Dip. Ed. (n=12) were interviewed in groups, pairs and alone and completed an open-ended questionnaire which addressed significant experiences in their programmes. The Department attracted a homogeneous group of students who were described by a lecturer in the department as:

> a very pragmatic, practical mob in the sense that they like to see the applied aspects right away.... They are very end product oriented - "give me the answer", "how do I get there ?"

A lecturer from outside the department described students somewhat differently as, "superjocks ! ... very outgoing, noisy, very restless".

Staff (n=18) were also formally interviewed and informally engaged in conversation. Of particular interest to me was the nature of the work of Anna, the faculty member most responsible for physical education pedagogy. In addition, extensive documentation was collected on the departments' degrees and coursework.

A grounded theory model of investigation (Glaser, 1978) was employed to address the following questions.

1. What is the nature of the knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and practices in a PETE institution ?
2. How are the knowledge bases, beliefs, attitudes, and practices negotiated or contested ?
3. Are the knowledge bases, beliefs, attitudes, and practices influenced by particular ideologies ?
4. Are the ideologies in PETE complicit in defining the professional practice of its gradutes ?

In seeking responses to these questions, language and images of the PETE texts, or the discourses employed by the participants, reflected how the fabric of PETE was conceived, received and theorized. Within this paper, it is impossible to do justice to the data upon which my claims are made and furthermore to the data which suggests contestation and contradiction. For this elaboration, may I refer you to Macdonald (1992) ?

Proletarianization of Faculty

With the agendas for mauch of tertiary education decision-making lying firmly under the control of federal and state educational and economic mandates, it is argued that the proletarianization trend was true of all faculty in Physical Education and Recreation at Oxley Institute. However, the extent and nature of proletarianization differed for different groups of faculty. Some faculty experienced both ideological and technical forms of proletarianization while others were more resistant (Ginsburg, 1988). In the struggle for survival of the fittest in the academic world, the external forces that facilitated particular types of academic endeavours and constrained others, suggested that the global application of professionalization or proletarianization to all faculty is inappropriate (Boreham, 1983).

Lawson (1985) reported that faculty were socialized into, or aligned themselves with, different occupational roles such as researcher or practitioner, with each role aligned with differing "profesional" status. For those who considered themselves researchers, scientific and scholarly knowledge was to the fore and for practitioners, they were concerned with a working knowledge which had quite different frames, names, purposes and modes of communication (Lawson, 1985). This differential resulted in the inequities of funds available to different faculty, allowing researchers to continually reskill themselves through study and conference attendance (moreso the exercise scientists), while practitioners, such as Anna, had poorer resources or opportunities to reskill.

Utilitarian knowledge in the area of physical education was welcomed by the majority of faculty. It can be understood as that knowledge selected, justified and valued for its extrinsic outcomes; for the promotion of discipline, physical fitness, health, nationalism, or academic integrity (Macdonald, 1992). In this, there was a coincidence between the faculty's preferred approach to work and some state and corporate discourses. Yet, this coincidence should in no way be considered beneficial to faculty's "professional" development. Rather, in many ways, it disguised the disempowerment to which the tertiary educators were subject. For example, in terms of where departments are best located, their institutions seem to be sites of problem-solving as responses to bureaucratic problem-setting.

The Physical Education and Recreation Department's focus on utilitarian knowledge was also strongly supported by the private sector although the linking of the Department to the needs of the private sector was a quietly contentious issue. Most faculty welcomed the opportunity to work for the private sector, while only a couple expressed their wariness of faculty selling themselves to commercial interests at the expense of a critical spirit, a spirit which could be interpreted as threatening by those with a vested interest in the technology of power. A social scientist criticized the nexus between physical education and entrepreneurialism because it:

> encourages commmercial ties and personally I think that some lecturers have sold themselves to the commercial interests such that messages from the commercial enterprises work their way back to the institute level in such a way that it compromises the personal integrity and ideals that exist here.

Much of the knowledge reproduced and generated tended to be relegated as unproblematic, taken as given and unexamined in terms of the vested interests which it served. This lack of reflection was exemplified by the

words of an exercise scientist who explained, "I would certainly raise ethical issues and leave it at that.... I don't present my thoughts on ethics".

Despite the Department's stated philosophy, the nature of knowledge in physical education and PETE was fragmentary; fragmentation which was in a dialectical relationship with specialization (Lawson, 1991b). The socio-economic and state structures which support the increasing specialization of knowledge, and the development of narrow skills and expertise, have encouraged academics to become skilled and informed in highly specialized fields. Ironically, this is occurring at a time when the federal government's also has an agenda for a multi-skilled and flexible workforce. As an exercise physiologist explained, "usually I try to stay within a relatively specific area... and stay in it for a few years and 'feather the nest' - that's the way science is". It is difficult under these circumstances for faculty to retain an informed position on the multi-disciplinary issues that are pertinent to the sub-disciplines of physical education. At an ideological level, academics seem to have lost the privilege of holistic perspectives and therefore at the technical level, have had their work conditions directed towards narrow specialisms in teaching and research.

With the creation of specialist knowledge have come differentials in status attributed to these specializations and thereby the faculty associated with them. At Oxley there was a clear hierarchy of specialist knowledge, lead by exercise physiology, other exercise sciences, to philosophy and less so sociology, followed by health related subjects, other social sciences, and finally activities. A faculty member in the social sciences, David, suggested:

> If I were a student I'd be picking up on some of the divisions and tensions between the social and biol. sciences. I'd see that biol. sciences have all the toys and technology and ask how the social sciences can be of equal value and non-technical education be legitimate when there is so much vested in technology.

A PETE student, Gail, corroborated David's assertion.

> Traditionally the social sciences have had the big push in the school but if you talk to anyone they reckon that the physiologists get all the money and the perks.

An exercise scientist noted that, "Activity classes have become second or third class subjects where it doesn't really matter who you get to teach them as long as they're done." His colleague remarked how:

> I enjoy teaching physical activities but it doesn't fit in with my plans.... I think I have more to offer than wasting my time teaching an activity.

From a student's perspective, the practices of those lecturers associated with physical activities were also questioned.

> There are some lecturers who don't take any PE academic subjects and so when they take students for an activity, they treat it seriously like an academic subject and overload it with work.

For students both in the diploma year and those in the physical education degrees, teacher education coursework, and those faculty associated with it, was also floundering somewhere around the marginal social science subject status. A contradiction was that the PETE students' field experiences, under

the auspices of practising teachers, were considered highly important. A tutor who had worked with the PETE students noted that:

> They come back from teaching rounds and say, "That's where it's at.... I've learnt more from my teaching rounds than from six months of theory work".

George, a PETE student, also commented:

> This might sound strange but both my supervisors said to "forget what you've learnt (in lectures)".... I have to say that I learnt about 80% of what I did while I was teaching.

Thus, within the institution, the specialized knowledge of pedagogy faculty was not generally highly regarded and when this knowledge was compared by students to practitioner's knowledge, it was further devalued, thereby undermining the respect attributed to the pedagogy faculty.

The status accorded to the exercise sciences both within and beyond the tertiary institutions has frequently resulted in the exercise scientists in the institutions being in positions of power, as at Oxley, albeit power relative to the control of tertiary education by the state. The hierarchical decision-making structures within the Physical Education and Recreation Department, exacerbated by poor systems of communication, made it difficult for faculty other than those in senior positions to have a voice in the department's future. This disempowerment of academics was particularly acute for the more junior, and thereby most female, members of the faculty.

Seven men and two women in the Department of Physical Education and Recreation were in positions of senior lecturer and above. Their authority was covertly reinforced by the corporatist and scientistic ideologies that underpinned the department's priorities. A male exercise physiologist recounted:

> We're always being exposed... on television... and because of that we're always being encouraged, and having a Head of Department an exercise physiologist is also a help in pushing our area along.

Kanpol (1990) argued that what may underpin males' claims of power and "professionalism" are individualism and sexism. To be a "professional" is to fulfill a male stereotype; to be in control, be autonomous, adhere to rules of practice and be scientific masters. Thus a "professional" could be stereotyped as the person who is objective, a disciplinarian, managerial and detached. In short, maleness or male traits become most appropriate for leadership.

Women lectured in the areas of recreation, health, pedagogy, and dance, clearly dealing with subject matter that may be seen as female appropriate. Because of her marginal position, Anna had a perhaps mistaken sense of autonomy. Anna clearly interpreted her freedom as a regard for her "professionalism". Yet from the proletarianization perspective, her position could be considered as one of institutional neglect. In response to a simple question about Anna not having her own office in contrast to the majority of faculty, a colleague of Anna's explained that she was "younger, did not have testicles and was not an exercise physiologist". At a technical level, Anna was busy with her work. Her teaching responsibilities were tightly prescribed and involved long contact hours in comparison to other faculty. Her days were spent teaching in a variety of areas (for her, expertise was not so

important), many of these areas low status activities, doing school practice visits and administering the yearly student intakes. Similarly Lawson (1991a) suggested that:

> women are typically placed in lower status universities where teaching and service loads are heavy and where opportunities and resources for research are limited... (and where) orientations may be at odds with dominant reward and resource allocation systems. (p.241)

Research and/or professional development were not a part of the expectations that the department had for her work practices, and moreover, the demands that were placed upon her, or the contingencies of practice, prescribed a narrow and technical orientation to her work. Under these conditions it is not surprising that much of Anna's content knowledge was a reflection of her own socialization process in the conservative discourses of traditional-craft, and to a lesser extent, behaviourist pedagogy (Tinning, 1991; Zeichner, 1983).

With the teacher education programmes in Australia historically practising a blend of personalistic, traditional-craft and behaviourist pedagogies, it is not wholly a case of physical educators losing the autonomy they may have once claimed. Templin et al. (1986) have argued that the physical educator has only ever reached a semi-professional status, with the parameters of monopoly, autonomy, and expert knowledge typifying sources of proletarianization. The types of knowledge that have come to dominate physical education reinforce a particularly narrow and technicist way of thinking and learning in physical education. What is important latterly is the relative increase in the status of the sports sciences and the position of inferiority that this leaves pedagogical and curriculum content knowledge (Shulman, 1986a, 1986b).

The dynamic of the hegemony of the discourses of science and corporatization, together with the gendered pattern of seniority, rendered many issues facing PETE faculty as either unproblematic or unattended, leaving the "profession" of physical education acquiescent. While some faculty secured more of the technical and ideological control over the work culture of their department (such as the exercise scientists), other faculty groups, and I would argue particularly those involved with pedagogical and curriculum content knowledge, were more subject to proletarianization trends, akin to the marginalized position of PETE students and practitioners in schools (Sparkes et al., 1990).

Proletarianization of Student Teachers

This section shall explore how much of the knowledge and experiences to which PETE students were exposed exemplified the process of proletarianization in physical education from several perspectives. Frequently faculty positioned themselves as the educational experts to impart knowledge which was considered superior to any generated by the students themselves; their knowledge base was from a positivistic epistemology and it was fragmented into different types of theoretical and practical knowledge bases; the language used was "scientific" to add status to their theses; the knowledge was neither questioned nor contextualized; and the problems addressed were technical ones which positioned teachers in a sphere in which their lack of conception was taken for granted. With reference to both Derber's (1983) and Berlak and Berlak's frameworks (in Ginsburg, 1988), this knowledge reflected many indicators of proletarianization in that

it was fragmented and decontextualized knowledge, given to the students without scope for their own theorizing, thereby fulfilling both ideological and technical proletarianization trends.

As did the faculty, students preferred involvement with specific types of utilitarian knowledge throughout their coursework, whether it was in the exercise or social sciences, pedagogy or curricular content knowledge, activities or fieldwork. They valued experiences which were "useful", "factual" and "tangible", with the "factual" holding the highest status. When asked why they were quiet and taking notes in Physiology lectures and not in Play and Leisure Theory lectures a group replied:.

> Val: You've got to listen or you'll fail. And it's relevant too. It's facts, whereas in Play and Leisure Theory you just sit there and go yuck.
> DM: How do you mean it's more relevant because it's facts ?
> Steve: You can understand it. Physiol. is a subject where there's science and numbers involved and all that sort of stuff.
> Val: You can apply physiol. to everyday life, whereas the social sciences don't do that.

Faculty furnished this interest rather than take responsibility for exploring the broader issues which shaped the nature of the practitioners' environment. In many instances the valued knowledge for a professional was equated with the knowledge needed to perform the technical skills in an occupation. There was a strong undercurrent of vocationalism; preparation for the workforce and anticipation of the needs of employing authorities. Thus, in subjects in which the lecturer and students could see an occupational outlet, the content knowledge tended to be "how to" with a lesser emphasis on the need to understand the construction of this knowledge. While the practices of many faculty supported these priorities, there was a minority who were interested in reflecting the department's philosophy and tradition for non-vocational, humanistic and multi-disciplinary physical education.

Pedagogical and curriculum content knowledge was usually characterized by technical skills, tips, and emphasized doing rather than thinking or reflecting. In a lecture on constituting a plan for classroom management the students were instructed, "Don't sound so pleasant... Be prepared because pupils are not often compliant". The students' response was that, "the lecture was full of useful tips". The framing of knowledge as technical and unproblematic rendered students' foci of practice on short-term, needs-driven problem-solving. As Anna perceived:

> Mentally students have a real block unless they feel comfortable with preparing and teaching a class. Higher level orders of thinking, or stretching their class, or being creative and trying new things out don't necessarily occur until they have some basics under control.

Students considered practitioner-derived knowledge was important but at the same time accorded it a lower status than scientific "facts". As indicated in the previous section, this was also true of their knowledge of physical activities. In speaking about a pedagogy subject, Louisa (a PETE student) explained:

> It's different from other subjects where you come from full on research stuff.... It's practical and it's not, I suppose, as high key as other subjects. But that's the nature of it. It's not supposed to be.

The valuing of personal, critical or holistic sources of knowledge, characteristics of what has been the province of a "professional", became lost while the contingencies of practice dictated.

Students were infrequently encouraged to develop curriculum decision-making skills nor oriented to viewing such skills as integral to the teacher's role. In keeping with the pedagogies that dominated, teaching was also discussed in terms of routinized practice and conformity to established practices, qualities that are highly suggestive of a disempowered and deskilled worker. Students were advised by Anna (and by each other) to work within the school's existing framework, watch the relationships and procedures, work out what is successful and "imitate this". Louisa described a "normal" and successful practicum lesson as, "change into gear, two laps around the oval, stretches, skill and drill demonstrations and explanations, practice and game to finish".

PETE students' notions of a "professional" physical education teacher were of someone who was organized but flexible, well-presented, empathetic, bubbly and cheerful but with effective discipline, and had the ability to listen to, and negotiate with, students and colleagues. At a glance, the criteria would suggest that if a student were to fulfill these, they would be operating in the mode of the classic "professional". However, according to the proletarianization thesis, several of these criteria such as punctuality, reliability, willingness to accept advice, willingness to assume responsibility, if accepted as unproblematic, are contributory to the marginalization of teachers from the "professions". It was this aspect of preparation that Anna was most clearly trying to control within the socialization process of the PETE students. A number of predetermined variables for successful practice, listed in the students' practicum handbooks, assured routine practice and conformity were the students' goals.

Further, the foray into the exercise sciences, both on campus and in schools, heightened the possibility of the fragmentation of knowledge and subsequent deskilling of physical education teachers. Physical education as exercise science divests expertise to other bodies beyond the teacher as curriculum maker. Thus, the new emphasis on the "theory of physical education", was not necessarily an empowering concept in that it reflected the hegemonic intellectualism of the exercise sciences. Additionally, the mental/manual dichotomy, a dichotomy associated with practices of scientization and commodification of the body in physical activity, is reinforced. Without experience in integrating specialist curriculum, pedagogical or scientific knowledge in practice, the PETE students' teaching became a routine process of reproduction with particular kinds of problematic "theory" held in esteem.

With the focus on the contingencies of practice, the moral and political issues enveloping the ongoing processes of teacher education were rarely addressed. Consequently, these prospective teachers could be said to lack the ability to situate the values and practices of education in a socio-political context, undermining the knowledge and skills to act as a "professional" worker (Tinning, 1987). Hargreaves (1984) explored a cyclical process in which teachers who are unfamiliar with the political and administrative processes of schooling find any foray into this arena unrewarding, reinforcing their existing commitment to the classroom. Once teachers

separate the administration, politics and associated educational theory, they can then privilege the narrow confines of the classroom as a way of defending their own competence and expertise. In contrast, critical pedagogy in teacher education would help students to raise questions about the products of education, about the moral, empirical, practical and theoretical conflicts in educational theory, and practice and policy which is potentially empowering to teachers and their students (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Kirk, 1986a, 1986b).

When the PETE students were introduced to critical ideas, the ideas were appreciated as an academic exercise by the older students. "It's just opened my eyes to heaps of things about phys. ed.", said one graduating student. However, the pedagogy of the faculty, together with the fragmentary arrangement of the coursework, resulted in this theorizing being divorced from the students' practice. Consequently, the students' practice remained untouched by the potential for reflection-in-action and the concomitant benefits of increasing socio-political understandings which Schon (1983, 1987) claimed marked successful "professional" practice.

The pronounced proletarianization of some students may be more poignant in PETE than in many other areas of education because of the dominance of particular masculinities in physical education and sport. Dewar (1990) considered this relationship in a North American PETE institution.

> One result of this authorization through science has been the creation and development of a number of physical education programmes in schools and universities that select and reward a relatively small number of individuals who tend to be privileged by, among other things, their bodies, gender, social class position, race and physical abilities. (p.77)

The pattern of privileging invests particular groups with capital in the form of social energy and voice, while other groups or individuals may be silent, constrained or resistant (Bourdieu, 1986; Hall, 1985). The male-dominated context and coursework of PETE had several implications for the proletarianization of many female physical education teachers, together with those males who may not have conformed to the privileged masculinity. A female PETE student perceived that she:

> wasn't recognized because I was a little bit overweight and I didn't have trendy clothes... go to the right school... and work out in the gym.... Louisa came later (into the programme) but she fitted straight into the group because she had that "PE look".

Given the critical eye that is cast over the physicality of female students, it can be extrapolated that it is they who are subject to the messages for self-control and bodily maintenance to a greater extent, a message found to have a dehabilitating effect on women's sense of worth (Dyer, 1986: Scraton, 1990) and public performance (Bartkey, 1988).

Males, as a general category, were supported in the discourses of the departmental's research agenda, content knowledge, assessment programmes (especially in the activity subjects) and career socialization. Students saw research being carried out by males on male subjects. As an exercise physiologist justified:

> The feminists may say "sure we can be biopsied as well as males"... (but) personally I prefer to work with males. I don't like

> the idea of hurting females. (Males are) tough and they can handle it. It's sort of the traditional stereotype I guess.

In turn, students chose to experiment with elite male athletes in their own work.

Participation in the male defined categories of culturally dominant physical activities, through which the students came to understand the scope of physical activity for their teaching, was particularly important to the reproduction of somewhat limiting physical education programmes in schools. Female PETE students angrily described their experiences in activity subjects.

> Louisa: I did cycling and it was on about being the best... and I had triathletes in my group... so it turned me off cycling.... One day I fell off in busy traffic and hurt my knee and the group just left me.

> Gail: The ball would get passed between the men because it meant they could win.

Two lecturers in physical activities recognized that, "certainly higher marks have tended to go to males", "it's a breeze for the experienced males".This could profoundly affect female physical educators who become part of the reproduction of knowledge generated or produced by the understandings and interests of men, and render men as "professionally" dominant.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the female students did not aspire to any positions of authority in their careers. Louisa explained that, "the male is normally the biggest breadwinner... and so if you're just a PE teacher you're not so important. You aren't earning so much". The women's expectations were for a short term of teaching before they married and had children. However, there was the suggestion that for males, career advancement may involve taking on an hierarchical function in a school (for example, "Sportsmaster") or moving out of teaching.

However, regardless of their sex, most students and some faculty accorded low status to the profession of teaching. Several quotes from students suggested the re/production of the perception that teachers' work is unchallenging and procedural, and at best entertaining for a while. This perception is reflective of the publicly shared understanding that the work of teachers, especially physical education teachers, is a lesser responsibility than many "professions". A group of third year students were frustrated that "You have to justify PE all the time...", "I (now) say it's an applied science". Many students and some faculty aspired to other professions, such as exercise science practitioners, which drew on the knowledge which they viewed as high status. A senior exercise scientist left teaching because, "it was just a question of bettering" himself. As Lawson (1991a) noted an identity transformation such as this:

> may include implicit disinterest or even hostility towards teachers and work practices in schools...whatever a school physical education teacher <u>is</u>, a professor is <u>not</u>. (p.235)

A graduating student explained from a student's perspective how they received messages from the faculty which denigrated the status of teaching. "It's not so much what the staff say but how they say it".

With the PETE students learning that physical education was essentially the delivery of routinized and unproblematic sports, they are unlikely to be politically aware enough to defend their territory in school curricula when necessary. As Beyer (1987, p.20) described:

> The effect of these programs has been to trivialise the relationship between the teacher and the learner by assigning to the teacher the role of technical, value-free behaviour manager.

More specifically, this PETE site perpetuated the alienation of women in teaching through many female students' internalization of low expectations for freedom to shape their own physicality, for a voice, for authority, or for career advancement as physcial educators. Consequently, as practitioners, these women will be unlikely to challenge patriarchal structures of decision-making, communication and content selection within schools and physical education. The resultant of the priorities described in this section is for most teachers and their students to celebrate the status of physical education only when it embraces biophysical, utilitarian and gendered knowledge which contrarily are the same perspectives which marginalize physical education when it is viewed in the wider educational context (Sparkes et al., 1990).

Policy, Proletarianization and the Future of PETE

Both the context of and practices within PETE are a cause for concern with regard to current educational policy directions and the status and morale of the physical education "profession". This study revealed that while there were some isolated incidences of struggles to improve the "professional" status of physical education, they were limited by particular parameters. To make an impact on the direction of the trends of "professionalism" in physical education, while trying to transform its meaning and re-articulate its associations, it is necessary to win a new set of meanings for the existing understandings of PETE (Hall, 1985. Physical education teachers and their educators need to consider this if they are to instigate socially critical, "professionally" rewarding physical education. A struggle characterized by a rethinking of the nature of "professional" physical education in line with particular national trends seems to be essential.

Australia's schooling system has on its agendas, together with instrumental and vocational thrusts, the development of broad and balanced knowledge, openness to critical examination, balance in intellectual skills and practical competencies, and access and success for all learners, yet physical educators' continued dalliance with technocratic priorities renders their programmes and practices contradictory to the essence of the social and critical agendas (Kirk, 1986a, 1986b). PETE students often arrive at their institutions with particular technocratic values venerating science, masculine perspectives, or entrepreneurialism, and may find these values are reinforced throughout their courses despite these values being incompatible with those that will benefit them, and their students, as teachers in schools (Tinning, 1987a). As with any field of tertiary study, PETE must work within a context which encourages its development, values its content knowledge, is supportive of its faculty's and students' needs and enables it to respond to worthwhile educational change.

In my view, for change to be realized, PETE may need to align itself with the education departments and faculties in our tertiary institutions rather than what are essentially departments of sport sciences, despite claims of their balanced, multi-disciplinary structures. Such moves may go some way

towards redirecting the knowledge of PETE and its associated pedagogy, physical education departmental facilities and research interests, and PETE students' social sensitivity to positions more in keeping with the goals of teacher education. Caution is needed as this recommendation is based upon an assumption that the pedagogy and priorities of mainstream education include more political and socially critical perspectives and would be supportive of PETE.

PETE needs to operate within a structure, either administratively or academically or both, in which it can contribute and respond to policy implementation and formulation. My argument here is that the physical education "profession" needs a voice in national policy formulation with educational bureaucrats and professional organizations which are currently identifying what is worthwhile knowledge in schooling, what form might it take, and how teachers (all teachers) can be best educated to facilitate the generation of such knowing. It is here the "profession's" future power may lie. Boreham (1983) argued that when a "professional" occupation attained a particular level of political organization it can create very effective obstacles to the encroachment of the rationalization process which management may seek to extend. Harris (1982) argued:

> that teachers can affect the speed and intensity of proletarianization by, among other things, the amount of resistance they put forward, along with the degree to which any particular issue is amenable to resistance at any particular time. (p.196)

In order to culturally interrupt this cycle of proletarianization of physical educators, Hargreaves (1984) argued that there needs to be some structural redefinition in the nature of the process of schooling and, one could add, tertiary education. Many of the recommendations for change at a policy level contain suggestions for arresting the alienation and marginalization and, in turn, proletarianization of teachers. Physical educators are a long way from being able to effect any control over their "profession's" future. However, to begin to do so, they need to have a united voice and a voice that is heard.

Why would I suggest that PETE should engage the problems of education and schooling set by the frames constructed at the federal level when some criticism has been so damning ? As flagged earlier, I believe that there are some recommendations contained within the dominant educational agendas which, if adopted and adjusted (or even recognized), could foster the development of positive, critical and empowering "professional" knowledge for physical educators. At the same time, I am not advocating the uncritical digestion of these policies and practices even if correspondence from policy to practice was feasible. However, the alternative to physical educators not being familiar with these discourses, not being part of the on-going debate surrounding them, or not positioned in a context which could access their impact in a positive way, may mean the quashing of any possibility for socially critical, participative and broad-based physical education which would enhance its standing in the educational community.

It is recognised that this recommendation alone should not be considered <u>the</u> solution to the problems facing physical education and PETE. It was not only the knowledge itself that constrained the professional development of the physical education teachers but the unequal voice that certain knowledges had and the unequal access to knowledge that different groups of students had, particularly women. The content knowledge of PETE also needs

reconsideration to respond to those disempowering practices that have continued to be reproduced in many PETE programmes despite educational thinking, policy and practice frequently moving beyond these. In line with the North American debate, Bain (1990) concluded that there needed to be new ways of structuring the knowledge and the pedagogy of PETE which repudiated objectivist and technicist approaches to knowledge and practice.

Schon has advocated turning traditional university practice around through learning-by-doing. This knowing-in-action is arrived at by developing in students the capacity to reflect-in-action. With respect to physical education Tinning (1991) recommended that:

> Our future teachers of physical education need not only the technical skills of instruction, they also need to understand the problematic nature of education and schooling. They need not only to be social engineers with a sense of right behaviour and how to teach it, they also need to understand the social construction of what is taken for granted as right behaviour. They need to be both socially competent and socially critical and they need to see the world beyond dichotomies. (p.11)

He continued therefore:

> In pursuit of pedagogical practices (including discourse) that are more appropriate for teacher education in the 1990s, we should begin with some emancipatory concerns addressed by critical and post-modern pedagogies. (p.17)

These alternatives would embrace a critical reflection process in all aspects of knowledge, not only in the pedagogical and curriculum knowledge, but in activities and the exercise sciences. In a pre-service teacher education programme when students receive the curriculum as technical, given and unproblematic, the content knowledge amounts to a professionally limiting experience and students are anticipatorily deskilled (Ginsburg, 1988). In PETE the "solutions" were frequently beyond students' control in the form of expert advice, be it from of an invited guest lecturer, a supervising teacher or the faculty themselves. However, if all knowledge was viewed as contestable and socially constructed, and faculty were mindful of this, the utilitarianism, corporatism, and sexism that dominated this case site would have been challenged. Using Bain's argument (1990), pedagogies explored by both critical and feminist theorists could be powerful in shaping a different future for PETE and physical education.

As Giroux and McLaren (1986) and Smyth (1987) explained from their critical positions, the conception of teachers' work as a form of intellectual labour provides a basis for the argument that teaching is not a series of instrumental and objective acts in which there are divisions between theory and practice, conception and implementation, public and private knowledge. Giroux and McLaren (1986) detailed that:

> The concept of teacher as intellectual carries with it the political and ethical imperative to judge, critique, and reject those approaches to authority that reinforce a technical and social division of labor that silences and disempowers both teachers and students. (pp.225-226)

As such, it may be a basis for challenge to the increasing proletarianization of teachers.

With such confusion surrounding the use of the concept "professional", I maintain that it is no longer a useful term for teacher education research or general educational discourse and recommend that a more explicit expression take its place. Perhaps the concepts of "intellectual" and "intellectualization" describe more accurately what is hoped of a contemporary practitioner and the educative process with which they need to be identified. Policies and recommendations have been formulated by the state in conjunction with "professional" bodies with the aim of arresting the problematics of teachers as intellectual workers.

If PETE remains isolated from mainstream teacher education and/or situated in multi-disciplinary departments of physical education, human movement studies or kinesiology, what has been the physical education teaching "profession" could continue to flounder and the crisis in physical education escalate. Institutional arrangements that have developed around PETE with the growth of the exercise sciences, as revealed at this case site, have created a basis for concern. With many institutional arrangements there is little space for physical education pedagogy to grow, to enrich and to empower the faculty and students. Physical education teachers in Australian schools need to consider themselves an integral part of the intellectual work of schools. Such an alliance would benefit the quality of discourse in different spheres; physical educators would become involved with contemporary educational problem-setting, processes and policies and, in turn, their voice could add valuable dimensions to the development of quality education for Australian school students.

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